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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 143823

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SUBJECT: LETTER ON IRAQ FROM THE SECRETARY TO FM PRIMAKOV

¶1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY NEA PDAS DAVID WELCH, REASON 1.5(B)

¶2. (C) THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE FOR EMBASSY MOSCOW. SEE
PARA 4.

¶3. (C) BACKGROUND: ON AUGUST 4, THE SECRETARY RECEIVED A
LETTER FROM PRIMAKOV IN WHICH PRIMAKOV ASSERTED
CATEGORICALLY THAT IRAQ HAD ELIMINATED ALL WMD AND NO
LONGER RETAINED THE CAPACITY TO PRODUCE THEM, THAT BUTLER
HAD UNILATERALLY AND PREMATURELY CUT OFF TALKS WITH IRAQ,
AND THAT THERE IS NO REASON NOT TO TRANSITION THE NUCLEAR
FILE IMMEDIATELY. ON AUGUST 5, THE IRAQI REVOLUTIONARY
COMMAND COUNCIL ANNOUNCED THAT IRAQ WAS SUSPENDING
COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM AND IAEA, AND DEMANDING LIFTING
OFSANCTIONS AND A FUNDAMENTAL RESTRUCTURING OF UNSCOM.

¶4. (C) ACTION REQUESTED: EMBASSY MOSCOW SHOULD DELIVER THE
FOLLOWING LETTER TO FM PRIMAKOV AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NO
ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

¶5. (C) BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR YEVGENIY,

I AM WRITING TO EXPRESS MY SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT IRAQ'S
LATEST ACTIONS, AND TO RESPOND TO YOUR LETTER.

I'M CONFIDENT YOU ARE AS APPALLED AS I BY IRAQ'S LATEST
ATTEMPTS TO EVADE ITS OBLIGATIONS AND TO UNILATERALLY
REWRITE THE RULES LAID DOWN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS
ASSAULT ON THE INTEGRITY AND AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS CANNOT BE TOLERATED. WE MUST RESPOND WITH STRONG,
UNIFIED ACTION WHICH MAKES CLEAR THAT NO NATION HAS THE
RIGHT TO FLOUT ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND THE WILL
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

I AM SURE THAT YOU DID NOT ANTICIPATE IRAQ'S ACTIONS WHEN
YOU WROTE YOUR LETTER WHICH IMPLIED THAT CHAIRMAN BUTLER
WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR PRECIPITATING A BREAKDOWN. THE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL'S STATEMENT MAKES CLEAR THAT
IRAQ HAS NO RESPECT FOR UNSCOM, THE UNITED NATIONS AND
PARTICULARLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL'S
RESOLUTIONS, THE FEBRUARY 23 MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING,
OR THE SECRETARY GENERAL WHO NEGOTIATED THAT AGREEMENT.

WHEN IRAQ BEGAN THIS STANDOFF BY ISSUING UNREASONABLE
PRECONDITIONS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF TALKS, CHAIRMAN
BUTLER IMMEDIATELY CONSULTED WITH SECRETARY GENERAL ANNAN
AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BOTH OF WHOM
SUPPORTED THE DECISION TO DEPART IRAQ. MR. BUTLER HAS NOT
SUSPENDED UNSCOM'S ACTIVITIES IN IRAQ; TARIQ AZIZ BROKE OFF
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNSCOM CHAIRMAN. IRAQ HAS NOW
ANNOUNCED THAT IT IS SUSPENDING COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM AND
THE IAEA.

IRAQ HAS CONSISTENTLY FAILED TO COMPLY WITH THE SECURITY
COUNCIL'S REQUIREMENTS FOR FULL DISCLOSURE OF ITS WEAPONS
OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND MISSILE PROGRAMS. IT IS THIS
FAILURE TO COMPLY, TOGETHER WITH IRAQ'S REFUSAL TO
COOPERATE WITH UNSCOM AND IAEA -- IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE
SECRETARY GENERAL'S MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING AND U.N.
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1154 -- WHICH CONTINUE TO DELAY
SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, ESPECIALLY ACTION TO TRANSITION
THE NUCLEAR FILE. THE MAY SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENTIAL
STATEMENT CLEARLY LAID OUT WHAT IS REQUIRED BEFORE THE
SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD CONSIDER TRANSITIONING THE NUCLEAR
FILE. AS THE RECENT IAEA REPORT TO THE COUNCIL MADE CLEAR,

IRAQ HAS NOT RESPONDED TO ANY OF THE OUTSTANDING CONCERNS. EVEN THOUGH IRAQ HAS NO DIFFICULTY CONVENING ITS SO-CALLED PARLIAMENT TO DENOUNCE UNSCOM, IT HAS FAILED TO PASS A PENAL LAW WHICH TARIQ AZIZ ACKNOWLEDGED WAS AN "INESCAPABLE" PRECONDITION FOR TRANSITIONING THE FILE.

YEVGENIY, THE FACTS CONTRADICT YOUR CLAIM THAT IRAQ DOES NOT POSSESS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION OR THE CAPACITY TO MANUFACTURE THEM, AND I FURTHER BELIEVE RUSSIA WOULD NOT FIND SUPPORT FOR THAT OPINION ELSEWHERE. DESPITE IRAQI CLAIMS THAT IT HAS COOPERATED FULLY WITH UNSCOM AND PROVIDED FULL DISCLOSURE, UNSCOM HAS REPEATEDLY UNCOVERED NEW EVIDENCE OF IRAQ'S PROGRAM TO DEVELOP WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. AS UNSCOM'S DISCOVERY IN JUNE OF WEAPONIZED VX -- SOMETHING IRAQ HAD CONSISTENTLY DENIED HAVING -- MAKES CLEAR, THE FULL EXTENT OF IRAQ'S WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION PROGRAM IS STILL UNKNOWN. I FOUND YOUR STATEMENTS AT THAT TIME TO BE VERY HELPFUL, AND AM PERPLEXED AND SURPRISED THAT YOU WOULD TAKE A DIFFERENT POSITION NOW. FOR THE SECURITY OF THE REGION, WE MUST KNOW WHAT IRAQ HAS DEVELOPED AND IS CAPABLE OF DEVELOPING.

IRAQ'S REFUSAL TO COOPERATE WITH UNSCOM AND TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE LEGITIMACY OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS UNACCEPTABLE. UNTIL IRAQ RESUMES COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM, THERE IS NO REASON FOR THE COUNCIL TO HOLD SANCTIONS REVIEWS. THEREFORE, WE SHOULD WORK TOGETHER FOR A COUNCIL DECISION TO SUSPEND SANCTIONS REVIEWS INDEFINITELY, UNTIL THEY RESUME FULL COOPERATION. THIS, YEVGENIY, IS A MINIMUM NECESSARY FIRST STEP. UNLESS THE COUNCIL ACTS RESPONSIBLY TO COUNTER IRAQ'S OBSTRUCTIONISM, WE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER OTHER AVAILABLE OPTIONS.

SINCERELY,
MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

END TEXT.

PICKERING